1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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On the subject of womanly beauty, I was told without hesitation that all men agree on Esther and Eunice. Both are young, sprightly, and smiling. Both have broad, perfectly oval faces; the curve of the cheek flowing smoothly from eye to wide chin, uninterrupted by prominent cheek bones. Both have clear, evenly pigmented skins, tan or buff, without wrinkles, hollows, darkly pigmented or thickly veined areas. Evidently the hair is not included in the estimate for Eunice's hair is cut quite short.

While wives are subordinate to their husbands no great restrictions are imposed on them. A wife follows when walking with her husband. She may eat after him when he entertains guests. Etiquette does not prescribe her seat with reference to his own. It is not proper for a woman to entertain a man alone during the absence of her husband, although it is permissible to have many men and children about. Nor should she walk about with any other man, not even a brother or father. If either of these relatives wants a thing brought from the fields, e.g., he so informs her, and she goes alone. When the objective is at a tiring distance, she may properly ride, but women do not ordinarily ride about the village, even when accompanying their husbands, as this would cause adverse comment. They would be cautioned against the possibility of being molested.

The attitude toward guests from other tribes should be one of cordiality. A stranger stands at the door until bidden to enter. The host now shakes hands and expresses his pleasure. Food is provided. Both are reserved, inquiries progressing slowly. The host makes a present, buckskins or food; his guest reciprocates. This is really an overture to trade negotiations, since presents are not freely given. Adoption is not usually practised, nor names bestowed.

The visitors were pressed to eat heartily before others at the dance in 1919. In spite of the cordiality shown them, group consciousness showed itself in the awkward banter, brusqueness, and the tendency to form a compact group on the part of the Navaho and Hopi visitors. At night they usually camped together at a single host's camp.

It is courteous to call out before entering a friend's house, though an informal entrance is not taken amiss. While it was said that a guest would be seated to the right of the entrance (to one looking in) or better at the side furthest from it, this was denied by another informant. Casual guests munch a roasted ear of corn, etc., if such happens to be prepared, otherwise nothing is cooked for them. No word for thanks exists other than *Adnipi*, good, nor any for please. The Zuñi custom of expressing thanks is ridiculed.

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There are several customary positions for sitting women. They usually sit on their crossed legs, the feet turned almost instep down (they kneel, cross ankles, and sit on their calves.) Or they kneel on one knee, then sit with that leg doubled under them, or the legs may be stretched straight forward, ankles crossed, when the back is against a support, or they may sit Turk fashion, the legs drawn up and crossed. The dress is pulled sharply back between the legs when sitting to avoid exposure. 516

Men's sitting positions are much more variable. Perhaps the commonest is similar to the women's usual mode. They also cross the legs Turk fashion, or lie half recumbent.[1]

Both sexes carry articles in the hand, never on the head as among the Pueblos. Men carry bulky articles by means of a carrying strap passing over the chest; women in their burden baskets, the strap of which crosses the forehead. 482

Left-handedness is as rare as in a group of normal whites: in 1921, three (two males and a female) were noted in 182 Indians. Should a pregnant woman use her left hand continually, the child will be left-handed. When the parents observe that the child begins to grasp with the left hand, they remonstrate and tie that arm across his abdomen. But this is no cure; he cries and the hand is freed. The right hand, literally "good hand" (*sŏlpáhdnd*) is so called because it can be used at will. It is wrong to shake hands, or to hand an object to another, with the left. People feel uneasy; say it is not a good way. A handshake, using the left, is no confirmation of an agreement or assurance of friendship; it may cover deceit. 516 827 856 576

Gestures are not common. The lips are protruded to point out an object, but the extension of the lips and the frequency of their use is never as great as at Zuñi.[2] In pointing or describing a circuit at a distance, the loosely clenched hands are held as in shooting a bow, the right hand near the right shoulder, elbow raised outward, the left arm nearly at full length and slightly to the left of the body. Both hands then describe the arc together. 201 [171]

To signify, "all gone," "all washed away," the right palm is brushed slowly but forcefully forward on the upturned left palm and then up forward.

The gesture used to describe an arrow shot, as in a tale, is not the same as the actual release. The hands are put in position as in shooting

[1] Neither men nor women cross the knees when seated on chairs, etc., nor do they squat on their heels. The arms are not characteristically held akimbo, as are those of Western natives. The bow are never used to assist in working. [171]

[2] The Southern Ute also use the lips in pointing (Lowie, op. cit.).

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and the forefinger of each hand filliped against the thumb, first the right, then the left. This simulates the sounds of the slipping string and the slap of the feathers on the bow.

On meeting a stranger or a long-absent friend, the Ha-va-su-pai grasps him by the hand, moving it up and down in time to the words of the greeting; and, as he lets go, lifts his own hollow palm toward his mouth, then, with a sudden graceful motion, passes it down over his heart.[1]

Running is indicated by doubling the arm, fist clenched, and working it back and forth vigorously at the side. To show wrestling, the forefingers are half locked before the breast and slowly rocked forward and back to indicate two men struggling. Trading is shown by holding up and crossing the forefingers, occasionally tapping them together; eating, or an invitation to eat, by placing the tip of the crooked right forefinger between the lips.

The wink is not used significantly, nor is it always comprehended. An injured finger is not thrust into the mouth. The Havasupai do not whistle.

Girls and women cover the mouth with the hand or a corner of the shawl when embarrassed or surprised.[2]

A yawn is covered with the back of the hand.

Women when washing their hands, wring them together, then suddenly opening the prone fists, fling off the excess drops from the extended fingers.

When women (sometimes children and less frequently men) are vexed, scorch their fingers, etc., they say *dá, dá, dá* rapidly.[3]

It is customary when fumbling for a continuity of ideas, to repeat a word almost as though stuttering.

Enjoyment of a meal, as by a guest, is shown by loudly smacking the lips from time to time.

Smoking is but moderately indulged in by the older men today, which may be presumed to be the general situation in former times. These men smoke cigarettes with a long puff and a loud closing of the glottis, much to the amusement of their juniors. It is merely a matter of leisure-time indulgence and has no ceremonial significance.[4] I do not recall learning that women smoke.

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[1] Cushing, (a), 555. I have never observed the second part of this greeting. Cushing may have misinterpreted a Hopi greeting here.
[2] See Yavapai (Corbusier, 558).
[3] Compare the Hidatsa (e. g., in Lowie, (a), 224).
[4] The shortage of tobacco or smoke are stated. Tobacco is not shrewd

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sunflowers, squash, melons and pumpkins in a cloth and packed them in this dry, safe place. 251

Through generations of experimenting the women had developed safe methods of preparing food for storage. Mold and decay must be fought or there would be famine. Beans, corn, sunflower seed, figs and peaches were dried in the usual manner, but it took an Indian's ingenuity to develop a method of drying squash and pumpkin so they would make good eating in the winter. The women first cut off the rind and allowed the squash or pumpkin to dry somewhat on the outside. They next removed the seeds, which were dried for food and for planting, then cleaned and partly dried the inside. This partly dried flesh was cut in one long spiral and hung over a pole until dry enough for storing. Many homes were so filled with drying spirals that there was little room for the family. The dried pumpkin or squash was cooked with water and served as a vegetable. I was sure it would be tender and sweet but I did not get a taste. [252]

I had seen peaches spread to dry on the sandy ground, fly-covered, dogs romping over them, ponies nibbling them. So when I saw two laughing gossiping women laying their halved peaches on the clean floor of a crevice in the canyon wall in which a family had set up housekeeping, I climbed up for a better view.

When I reached their level, to my surprise—and to his—I saw a naked old man sprawled on the floor, taking a sun bath. He gave me a startled glance, bounded up and scampered away among the rocks where he hid until I left the place. The women, their fat bodies shaking with laughter, jabbered and pointed. The old fellow would have thought nothing of his nudeness had a woman of the tribe appeared. It was the privilege of old men and young boys to follow the dictates of comfort in discarding clothes. But a white woman! He couldn't figure out what she might think, or say, or do. 887 291 576 522

I wanted a picture of the women and their drying peaches, so focused my camera. The women threw their *tutams* over their heads and ran screaming to hide behind the rocks. It was the 114

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

To the Mouth of the Havasu

576 Late one evening Frances and I were lingering at the supper table talking over the events of the day, when there came a sharp knock on the door. This was surprising as a Havasupai did not knock. He framed his face with his hands and looked in through the window or threw the door open and stalked in, accustomed to 715 latchless doors. Also, after darkness fell he stayed close to his own campfire and the living, for the ghosts of the dead walked at night. The person outside our door was not an Indian.

050 Frances and I were the only white people in the canyon. Miss Goenawein and Mr. Burnett had driven to Seligman on business. The night was dark, and neither of us felt too brave when we opened the door to a stranger, since we were completely alone, the policeman being at home a mile farther down the canyon.

George Wharton James, author of several books on Indians of the Southwest, introduced himself.

Mr. James had established his headquarters at the home of a village Indian whose friendship he had won on previous visits to the tribe. This time he had come prepared for a trip he believed no white person had ever made—the descent of the Havasu Canyon to its junction with the Grand Canyon. He had engaged Ute, a very old Indian, blind in one eye, as guide. He suggested that the ride might be interesting for us.

We couldn't miss this adventure! I had determined that I would not leave the school until I had followed the Havasu stream from

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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437 could ever find a purchaser, and partially at myself for being so foolish as to want to carry it away. But I obtained some fine specimens, though much worn, of the workmanship I desired, so could afford to be very complaisant at the derision I aroused.

157 181 The Havasupai is one of the most jolly, frolicsome, and light-hearted of mortals. With his stomach full he has no cares, and he goes into fun with a zest and energy that are pleasing. He is fond beyond measure of practical jokes, — when he is not the victim, — and cares very little who suffers so long as he can obtain fun. Consequently if one meets with a misfortune, especially a laughable one, he need expect little, if any, sympathy in Havasu Canyon.

They are a singular mixture of frankness and cunning, of honor and deception, of truth and frankness, of reliability and untrustworthiness. They will as deliberately and coolly lie to a white man about anything and everything — if it suits their purpose — as they will tell the truth. Ask a man his name — an insult, by the way — and he will lie to you, even though you are a good friend; as, for instance, when, after being the guest of "Supai Charley" for several days, I quietly and without seeming intent asked him his name, which I knew to be Wa-lu-tha-ma, that I might send him some gifts I had promised. For a few moments he hesitated, and then said "Qu-ar-ri" — a Wallapai name that has no relation to the Havasus whatever. Sinyela was full of deception, and yet, when a friend told him he might catch one of his horses and ride it so far, and we reached that point and I suggested to him that he take the pony forward and leave it at the designated spot on his return, he would not listen to it for a moment.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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are suggestive. They are: Pa-a-hu-ya' and In-ya-ja-al'-o, the former signifying "black," the other "the rising sun." At-nahl, whose name means a "sack," is the second in importance, and the youngest is Ma-tō-mā', commonly known as Bob. I have just asked Lanoman which is the best medicine-man of the three, and his reply when I asked "Who makes the sick people well the quickest?" was: "All same. All no good. All make people dead pretty quick!"

Death is supposed to be, in every case, the departure of the spirit from the body, and when the sick person is approaching death the friends and relatives, led by the medicine-man, will often sit around the invalid and sing their petitions to the departing spirit in the hope that it may be led to repent and return to the body. If the patient recovers, the medicine-man takes the credit (and what pay he can get) for the return of the spirit, and goes about in high feather, recounting to all he meets the new instance of his wonderful and occult power.

One of the greatest insults that can be offered to the friends of a dead Havasupai is to refer to him. The reason given to me for this is that whenever a thought is sent after a dead person it either prevents his spirit continuing the journey to Shi-pa-pu, or leads him to desire to return to earth, neither of which are good for a Havasupai.

One of the school teachers informed me that she once, in reconvening the school after a holiday, read out the name of a child that had recently died. The moment the name was pronounced several of both boys and girls burst out, some into a wild wailing and others into fierce and angry denunciations of the wicked white woman

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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551 576 775 who had thus arrested the spirit of the deceased on its journey to the underworld.

755 [535] The last night of our first visit the Havasupais had a Sick Dance. When one of their number is very sick or about to die, the medicine-man summons the principal men and women of the camp to dance around him, in the hope of driving away the disease. It so happened that during our visit one of the young bucks was very sick, and a dance was ordered for Saturday evening. It was quite a distance away from our camp, and Vesna, whose guest we were that night, informed us that we would not be welcomed. The welcome would have been overlooked but for our need of rest, and as it was a mile or two away, it was decided not to attend, although we could hear the incantations at intervals during the night. The dance, however, was similar to such dances elsewhere. The sick man was placed in the open air and a circle formed around him, while a slow and solemn dance was engaged in by those in the circle, and all participated in the chanting of an incantation. This was kept up during the entire night, the voices of the singers at times pitched to a very high key. As soon as one in the circle grew tired, he dropped out and another took his place, but the dance and chant never ceased. If a sick man survives the noise and din and wakefulness of this until morning, it is probable that his vitality will carry him through, and he will recover.

763 If death is thought to be certainly near, the best clothes of the wardrobe are brought out and placed upon the dying person. A woman's best dress is not too good for her to die in, and a man's finest garments, even to the broadcloth cast-off "Prince Albert" received through the kindness of some white friend in

first humorous name customarily was given when a child was three or four years old. This first name sometimes stayed with a woman throughout her lifetime, but a man received a new one when he married. This name, also of a humorous connotation, derived from an incident occurring during courtship or early marriage, often is bestowed by the father-in-law. 551 553

In former times, a stranger's name was not asked; he would reveal it when he wished to do so. The Havasupai say they aren't embarrassed about telling their names, but some of them show embarrassment or avoid response when an Anglo-American asks their Indian name, especially the joking name. The formal name customarily was used only by related persons, or by people who were close friends. If a stranger used it, its owner "didn't feel right about it." The joking name is freely used by those who know it. 551 576

Today, an Anglo-American name, chosen by the parents when a baby is born or soon after, is used more frequently than is the Havasupai term, even when the native language is being spoken. A few adults have no Havasupai names. 551

Translations of some women's names and descriptions of their derivation depict situations which inspired them. One married woman is called Burning-a-bird, because in childhood she threw her toy bird into the cooking fire. Another woman's name means Pulling-watermelons-off-the-vine, because when she was little she picked a boxful of small, green watermelons. A woman called Soapweed-pear-fruit was given this name by an old man who was amused when her parents tied a cowbell around her neck so she could be found easily if she wandered away while they were picking soapweed pears. A woman who was called Little-one during childhood, was renamed White-person-talking after her return from boarding school, because she spoke only English to those Havasupai who could understand it. An old woman recently deceased was named Pulling-a-rope because in her youth she was a good horseback rider and calf roper. One name, Long-tailed-lizard, was given to a girl who remarked (half in jest and half in objection) that after marriage she would have to wear long dresses like the lizard. [291] [885]

Children in the Social Group

The Social Group

The first child of a couple customarily is born into the household of his maternal grandparents, but the infant and his parents may move to the household of his paternal grandparents within a short time after his birth. 591

From the beginning of his life, an infant is present in the family circle rather than being isolated from it. In former times, the relatives with whom a child shared a common residence, or camp, in addition to his 592

584 for an indefinite period. However, the factors of regularity and endurance do not necessarily portend interest in marriage.

Young people very early acquire the dominant group attitude of little or no moral compunction regarding covert sex expression, so that a girl may be relatively uninhibited in seeking gratification of sexual drives unless desire to avoid pregnancy prompts some restraint. (The Hpvasupai point of [834] view on the morality of sexual indulgence was indirectly revealed by one of the more Christianized adults who remarked of an older, unmarried Havasupai girl who reputedly refrains from sexual relations and is described as unique in this respect, "She says she's a Christian, so maybe she doesn't [186] like sex.")

No information was obtained regarding the use of contraceptive methods 842 or devices by unmarried couples, but the proportion of illegitimate births, 584 coupled with the beliefs and practices of married women presented elsewhere, suggest that contraception is not practiced generally, if indeed it is at all before marriage.

If a girl conceives during a casual affair, the alliance may become 836 permanent, but only if the couple want to marry or at least have no objection 584 to it. A boy is not forced into such a union. An accused youth is able to refute a girl's claim merely by charging that her child is "everybody's baby." That girls seldom stand firm in such accusations may be further evidence of the casual and promiscuous character of early sexual activities.

584 In conclusion, primary courtship is transitory in character, centering strongly upon sexual experimentation with erotic stimuli, in essence motivated by a physiological drive for self-gratification rather than by any illusion of enduring affection for a particular sexual partner.

Secondary Courtship

Secondary courtship, by definition, begins when a couple recognizes a mutually exclusive attraction which may possibly lead to marriage. Age is not necessarily a factor, since many individuals engage in serious courtship rather early in adolescence, sometimes as early as puberty. As might be expected, fewer boys than girls court seriously at a very early age.

[183] Since courtship arises from and follows a pattern of sexual license which is covertly normative but overtly disapproved, courtship itself is a complex of attitudes and behavior patterns more or less clandestinely expressed. Courting couples publicly present to one another impassive countenances and [576] aloof demeanor pretending to ignore each other. Havasupai etiquette, lacking in conventional salutatory and farewell forms, prescribes no obligatory verbal exchange when individuals join or leave a group, participate in a social situation such as card playing, meet unexpectedly while going about

the village, or meet (by design or otherwise) in their own or a neighbor's camp. Therefore, courting couples merely observing the usual forms may pass unnoticed, unless their avoidance or pretended lack of awareness of each other's presence is so elaborate or pointed as to become obvious. 584 576

However, secretiveness itself is merely the overt pattern, for many courtships on both primary and secondary levels are known and closely followed in gossip. It appears that an individual attempts to keep his amours secret from all but a small circle of friends usually coinciding with members of his own age group. This circle becomes more exclusive in both numbers and margin of age difference as an individual approaches adulthood. 584

With sexual initiation occurring sometimes or perhaps often in childhood play groups, children until puberty may candidly share knowledge of sexual experiences with others of the same age and with younger children. Within this age group some children may witness or openly participate in intercourse carried out in play. Upon reaching puberty, perhaps because physical development makes sexual play less an experimental act, a couple is likely to arrange a secret rendezvous. It appears, however, that a pair of boys may share a tryst with a pair of girls or even with one girl; certainly it is not unusual in cases of mock rape for two boys to "attack" one or two girls. During adolescence individuals of both sexes have confidants. It was not established whether boys' groups more freely discuss their sexual adventures than do girls; girls usually confide in one or more close friends. By comparing notes with a few friends, individuals can guess where most other interests lie in their particular age group, and from such sources information is relayed to virtually the entire social group. A teenage girl stated concisely, "We all know." 864 836 584

While many marriages among younger generations grew out of courtship and some older couples apparently made love matches, Havasupai cultural tradition places no emphasis upon sentimental or romantic love as a basis for marriage. Nor does courtship itself appear to be conceived in such terms. Neither men nor women are thought to pine away, nor do individuals "carry a torch" for an unrequited or forbidden love. A bereaved spouse usually remarries rather soon. In the present older generation, one woman, who fled repeatedly from an arranged marriage because she wanted to marry her lover, eventually accepted her husband, to whom she later appeared devoted. It is said that she "forgot all about" the lover (who, incidentally, had made no attempt to prevent her marriage nor to rescue her from it and who soon married someone else). A few distantly related couples who persisted in marrying for love are strongly censured by the entire social group, while those who disregarded opposition arising from less serious causes to marry for love are more nearly viewed with apathy than championed by public sentiment. (In seeming contradiction to the foregoing, upon the suicide of a youth of 19 in 1954, public opinion strongly condemned the boy's parents for causing his death, reportedly because they had opposed a marriage he desired. 581 183 832 [762] [208]

trouble, without so much as a well-directed glance at the heated crowd, he went away as he had come, a picture of imperturbable dignity and gravity. The wranglers, in the most shamefaced manner, gave up alike their dispute and its object.

The coming stranger is heralded by the first observer, the chief waiting at his own house to receive him or his embassy. Any hut at which he first alights, even though the poorest, is almost sacredly regarded as his home. The inmates flock out, however suspiciously they may regard him, remove the saddles and packs from his animals, arrange them around the sides of the dwelling, invite him to enter, seat him on the best blanket or robe, and immediately improvise a meal for him, offering him, meanwhile, a drink of fresh water. During his wanderings about the village, wherever he may enter, he will almost surely find some one eating, even though it be late at night, and he will invariably be invited to partake.

On meeting a stranger or a long-absent friend, the Ha-va-su-pai grasps him by the hand, moving it up and down in time to the words of his greeting; and, as he lets go, lifts his own hollow palm toward his mouth, then, with a sudden and graceful motion, passes it down over his heart. As an evidence of confidence in a newly-made friend, a Ha-va-su-pai will sometimes give to him that whereby, in the native belief, even the giver's life may be taken through sorcery, — a hair, a bit of his skin, or a piece of his finger-nail, — this being an inviolable contract of peace and mutual regard. Several of these hairs lie among my notes, as less pleasant than pathetic mementos of such regard. Indeed, a number of my own locks are doubtless still cherished in sundry medicine bags, hanging from the wattled walls of my homes in Ha-va-su-pai-gidri. One poor, aged fellow, observing me trim my nails one day, carefully gathered the cuttings to-

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574 gether, and piteously begged me, by look and gesture, not to resent the liberty he had taken, or deprive him of his treasures.

764 When a man dies among them, he is bathed and painted, dressed in all his richest apparel, and laid, with his face toward the rising sun, to await the funeral ceremonials. Throughout the fields and orchards, usually with corn and sunflowers growing all around them, with vines and brambles covering them, are scattered little mounds of earth and ashes. These are the funeral pyres. Over the summit, a huge collection of
[768] wood is piled, and the dead, together with his various possessions, is laid upon the pile. This is lighted by the son and heir, or nearest other relative, and, as the flames shoot up and envelop the body, he who applied the light throws all his worldly possessions, together with those he has inherited, upon the burning pyre, slaying his favorite dogs and horses, and adding them to the last sac-
[775] rifice. Upon the wings of the last film of smoke the soul of his father rises, to wander whither it will, — to come back, and bring the summer rain-clouds, to minister in many ways to the wants of his children; while the naked mourner sadly wends his way homeward, "to begin life anew, as did his father," he will tell you.

775 The spirits of those for whom the last offering has been neglected become unhappy and evil ghosts, which, together with the souls of the enemy whose
[727] scalp has not been taken and burned, torment the living with the weird voices of the night, or the lone moanings of
[754] the wind on the pine-covered mesas; or, as demons of disease and death, obey the behests of the dread sorcerer, or war against the good offices of the happier souls.

821 They are fairly acquainted with the
221 principal constellations, giving them
805 names, and regulating the planting and hunting seasons by their movements.

[CP 556A]